

So, the issue is how we enable enough insurance companies to determine that the risk of terrorist claims is a risk that they can assume.

That is what this legislation is all about—defining the risk so that insurers can assess and put a price on it. This legislation is about facilitating insurance companies' ability to continue to write property and casualty insurance policies. It is about providing business owners with the opportunity to buy insurance against terror claims and doing so in the private market to the extent that is possible.

This is, of course, not the first time we have faced this kind of an issue. The Federal Government has a history of partnering with the insurance industry to provide coverages for risks that are too big—too uninsurable—for the industry alone.

Current examples are the flood, crop, and nuclear liability programs, and in the past we've seen partnerships on vaccine liability and riot reinsurance. From an insurability standpoint, these risks are probably more insurable than terrorism.

Some might debate whether we should have passed the existing programs, or whether they are operated efficiently. But there should be no debate about the need for a terrorism program, and Senator DODD has structured this one the right way—with retentions and loss sharing by the industry, so the incentives are there for efficient operations.

Again, I congratulate my Connecticut colleague, Senator DODD, for his diligence in working through these complicated issues and bringing this bill to the floor. We need to defeat the amendments and enact this legislation into law as soon as possible.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to address the Senate as in morning business for 4 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AIR FORCE STAFF SERGEANT ANISSA SHERO

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, I have the sad duty to report another death of a West Virginian in Afghanistan. For many generations, the people of West Virginia have answered the call and many have paid with their lives. West Virginians understand the cost of freedom and have always been willing to pay that cost when called for duty.

Today we are reminded again how much that cost is because we now know of the death of Anissa A. Shero in Gardez, Afghanistan. She is from Grafton, WV. This was a tragic death in an airplane crash. She is the first woman Air Force casualty in the war in Afghanistan. She was married to SSgt Nathan Shero this past September, 2001. She had just been married. He is also deployed.

Her father was a disabled Vietnam war veteran who lost both of his legs as a result of a casualty, and her grandfather fought in the Battle of the Bulge in the Second World War. She was a volunteer who chose to serve her country in the face of grave danger. When terrorists struck, she was there. She left behind the mountains of West Virginia, in a sense, to go to the mountains of Afghanistan, to risk her life so our lives would be freer and safer.

She was part of an extraordinarily successful effort to eradicate the Taliban and to make tremendous disruption to and demoralize the al-Qaida forces, and again to give us more freedom and hope. Men and women in both nations are safer now because of her work, and unfortunately because of her death.

All of us who value freedom owe Sergeant Shero a profound debt of gratitude and honor, and I know the thoughts and prayers of many people in this Chamber, the other body, and all over America, certainly all over West Virginia, are like mine, with her family and her friends. She represented the very best of West Virginia and the very best of America. She was strong, courageous, and dedicated. She will forever serve as a role model for West Virginians, for men and women alike, who love their country and who, like her, know that our ideals are worth fighting for.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to address the Senate as in morning business.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, may I inquire how long the Senator is asking for?

Mr. HAGEL. I would need no more than 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized for up to 15 minutes.

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, I rise today to address an issue of urgent concern for American foreign policy: the situation in the Middle East and its implications for our war on terrorism.

Yesterday the majority leader offered three principles to guide our policy in the Middle East. I share his concern about the gravity of the situation we face and his affirmation of American support for Israel, and the imperative of American leadership in helping bring about a lasting peace in the region.

Time is not on our side. In April, I spoke before this body in support of President Bush's leadership in bringing a diplomatic resolution to this conflict. I applaud the President and his team for their progress so far in assembling the pieces of a potentially historic agreement and coalition for peace. But we are still only at the beginning of a long and difficult process.

What happens in the Middle East cannot be separated from our interests in the war on terrorism. If we fail in peace-making between Israel and her neighbors, there will be grave consequences for the United States, Israel, and the world. We will further empower the terrorists and extremists, those who thrive, find refuge, and recruit in conditions of poverty, violence, and despair. We must help secure a vision of hope for the people of the Middle East in order to reclaim the peace initiative.

It is time to put the endgame up front in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Palestinians must have a state, with contiguous and secure borders, and Israel must have a state without terrorism and with secure borders. President Bush endorsed the concept of a Palestinian state in a historic speech to the United Nations last year. If we do not address this, the core political issue of this conflict, we will allow the extremists on both sides to win. And then we will all lose: Palestinians, Israelis, Arabs, Americans, the world.

Strong, engaged, steady, and visionary American leadership is a predicate for the future of the Middle East. The Arab League peace proposal, at the initiative of Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, calls for normal relations between Israel and the Arab world and presents a unique and historic opportunity for peace. The Bush administration may be considering recognizing a transitional or provisional Palestinian state, with the specific details to be worked out over time, an idea similar to the Peres-Abu Ala agreement of last year. The so-called "Quartet"—US, Russia, the EU, and the UN—provides an international context for this possibility and a revived diplomatic track.

The pieces may be in place, the image of an idea for peace forming on the horizon, although the work ahead will be difficult. There are no easy answers or risk-free options. We can no longer defer the tough decisions on Israeli settlements, Palestinian refugees, borders, and the status of Jerusalem. The time for a step-by-step sequential process has come and gone. We are close to reaching a line of demarcation, where only bold and courageous leadership on all sides can show the way to a resolution.

Israel must make some hard choices for peace. It knows that military means alone will not end terrorism. Settlements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza must end. Israel should withdraw its military from the Palestinian towns it has re-occupied, as soon as the security situation allows. The emphasis for Israel must be on developing a coalition of common interests including our Arab allies and the United States to form the core of a peace coalition. Israel should move closer to this coalition and away from isolation and reliance on only the military option to ending the crisis.

The Israeli people have suffered too much and too long from terrorism. It

must end. America will continue to stand by our friend and do what we must to help secure a peace and Israel's survival. But America's support of Israel should not be at the expense or exclusion of our relationships with our Arab friends and the Palestinian people. It need not be. America is against terrorists, America is not against Arabs or Palestinians. We are and can be a friend and supporter of all sides. We must be, or there will be no hope and no peace.

This also means that we will not retreat from our support of democratic principles, values, and expectations. We will not trade friendship and freedom for expediency and peace.

The other Arab leaders of the region must play a major role in this revived peace process. They have serious responsibilities and significant self-interests in helping end terrorism and resolving this conflict. There is no longer room for ambiguity or criticism from the sidelines. Abdication of responsibility or subtlety is no longer an option.

Crown Prince Abdullah, King Abdullah of Jordan, and President Mubarak of Egypt and other Arab leaders clearly understand the high stakes and are willing to take risks for peace. The prospects for getting a peace process back on track is best served when the risks are shared.

The Palestinian leadership must respond to the challenge and opportunity before it. Terrorism does an injustice to the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. A Palestinian state cannot be born from and committed to terrorism and hostility toward its neighbor.

It is a tragedy that the Palestinian people have been linked in the minds of many people—many Americans, to the methods of terrorists and extremists who represent only darkness and hatred, not the aspirations of most Palestinians for statehood and a life of hope and peace.

Real reform and change within the Palestinian Authority has become a condition of any peace agreement. This must happen—and happen now. The present Palestinian government must stand up and show a leadership that has been lacking for too long. The current Palestinian leaders must be accountable and take responsibility for the future of the Palestinian people. Terrorism and violence are not the means to statehood and legitimacy.

American and Israeli pressure and intervention, however, can not be the final determinants of a new Palestinian leadership. An alternative Palestinian leadership, as Foreign Minister Shimon Peres told me a couple of months ago, may be either too weak to make peace or too radical to even consider it. This will certainly be the case if alternative leadership is perceived as primarily the result of American or Israeli collaboration.

There are those in the Palestinian movement that have been speaking out

for democracy and against corruption in the Palestinian Authority for some time. Hanan Ashrawi and Mustafa Barghouti, as well as many others, have been taking risks for democracy for Palestinians and transparency in Palestinian governance long before it became a condition for a renewed peace process.

Leaders of the Arab world must take more responsibility for Palestinian leadership. They cannot look away. It is now far too dangerous for them to allow further drift in the Middle East.

In considering the difficult road ahead, I understand the political constraints and risks that Israel and our Arab friends face in moving forward with peace. But it is better to share the risk than leave the field to the terrorists and extremists who will fill the leadership vacuum.

The problems in the Middle East affect and influence all aspects of our foreign policy, including our leadership in the war on terrorism. The Arab-Israeli conflict cannot be separated from America's foreign policy. Actions in the Middle East have immense consequences for our other policies and interests in the world. We are limited in dealing with other conflicts until this conflict is on a path to resolution.

America's policy and role in the Middle East, and the perception of our policies and role across the globe, affects our policies and interests in Afghanistan, South Asia, Indonesia, and all parts of the world. We cannot defeat terrorism without the active support of our friends and allies around the world. This will require an enhancement of our relationships, not an enhancement of our power. It will require America's reaching out to other nations. It will require a wider lens in our foreign policy with a new emphasis on humanitarian, economic, and trade issues as well as military and intelligence relationships.

We need the active support and involvement of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and the other states of the Middle East to defeat terrorism. The potential for isolating them on one side, with the United States and Israel on the other, is the wrong path. The alternative to developing coalitions of common interest in the Middle East and our war on terrorism is a region afire with radicalism and rage directed at Israel and the United States. We cannot wait. We cannot defer the peace timetable to the perfect time for peace. There is no perfect time for peace or perfect set of dynamics for peace. It will happen because we make it happen. We must seize the time we have, with all its imperfections.

The perception of American power becomes the reality of American power. If we fail in our diplomatic efforts to help bring peace to Israel and her neighbors, and isolate ourselves and Israel in the process, our security and Israel's security will become more vulnerable and the world more dangerous.

We need to keep our eye on the objectives: peace between Israel and its neighbors and victory in our war on terrorism. I close by joining my colleague, the majority leader, in encouraging President Bush not to risk unraveling the progress we have made so far in the Middle East by allowing a period of inattention and inaction to drag us all back into a dark abyss of despair and danger. A conference or some tangible relevant framework for peace must be announced and organized soon. The stakes have rarely been so high, the opportunities so great, and the margins for error so small.

CLONING

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the matter before the Senate at the present time is an amendment offered by my friend, Senator BROWNBACK. I will address the issues raised by that amendment.

We are considering a question that is of vital importance for every American affected by diabetes, cancer, Parkinson's disease, or other serious disorders. That question is whether we will permit a type of life-saving medical research to achieve its full potential to heal illnesses and cure disease—or whether we will stop this promising research dead in its tracks and deny its benefits to millions of Americans.

We all know where Senator BROWNBACK stands on the issue of medical research using the breakthrough new technique of nuclear transplantation. My friend from Kansas wants to ban this research forever. That's the position he has stated time and again in this Chamber and in forums across the country. And that is what the amendment that he offers today will accomplish.

Members of this body have spent long, serious hours grappling with the complex scientific and ethical issues raised by the issue of human cloning. Senators know the difference between human cloning and medical research. Human cloning produces a human being. Medical research is done in a laboratory dish and produces cells. But these cells can be used by doctors to develop astonishing transplants that will never be rejected by a patient's own body.

A majority of the Senate opposes any legislation to ban, even temporarily, the lifesaving research on nuclear transplantation that brings such hope to so many of our constituents. In the innocuous guise of an amendment to suspend certain aspects of the patent law, my friend from Kansas is trying to accomplish the goal he has long sought—banning medical research that uses nuclear transplantation.

The Brownsack amendment does many things. First, it bans patents on any cloned human being. It seems to me that if we want to ban human cloning, then we should ban it—pure